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Research Study

International and Transnational Terrorism: Diagnosis and Prognosis

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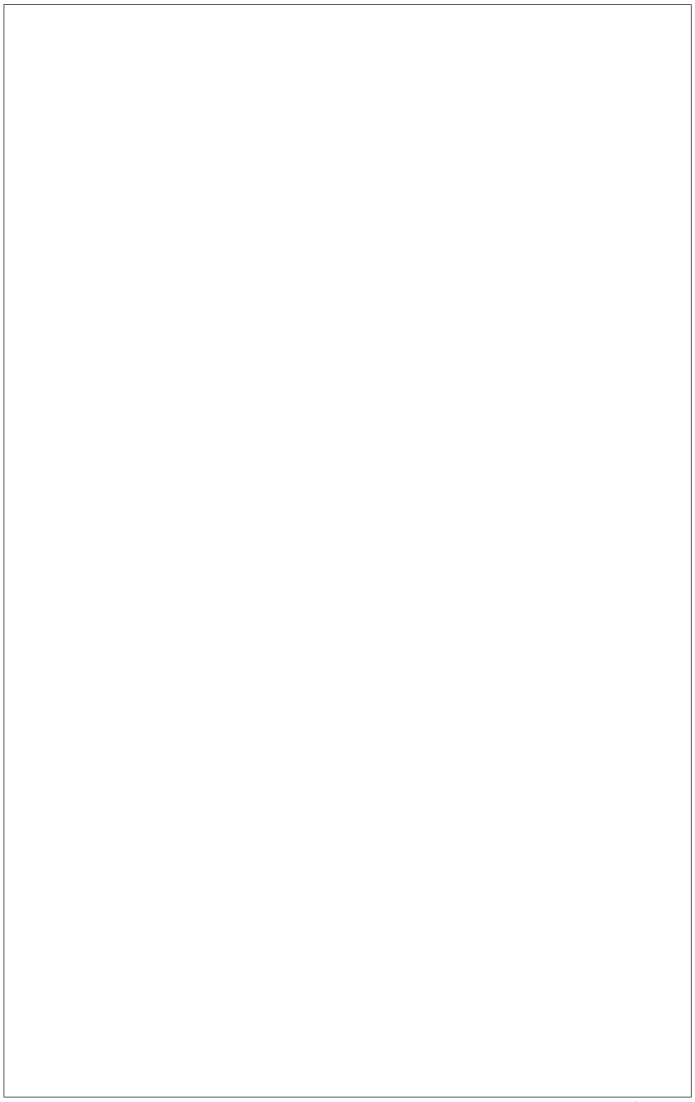

So far, at least, the efforts of various terrorist groups to promote broad regional and inter-regional coordination through the holding of periodic conferences and the formation of such umbrella organizations as Latin America's Revolutionary Coordination Junta (JCR) seem to have generated more smoke than fire.* But at a lower level, a growing network of overlapping *ad hoc* alliances and mutual assistance arrangements have added an ominous new dimension to the terrorist threat.

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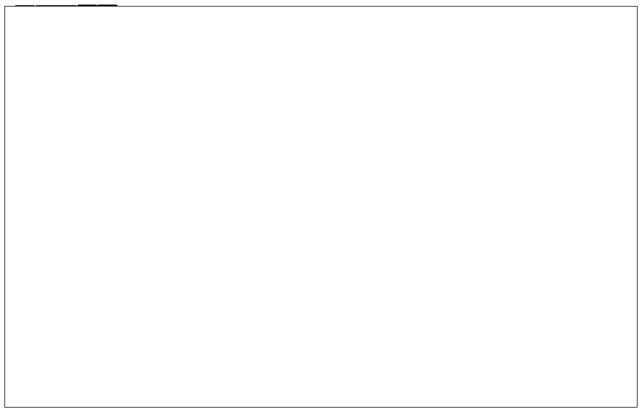

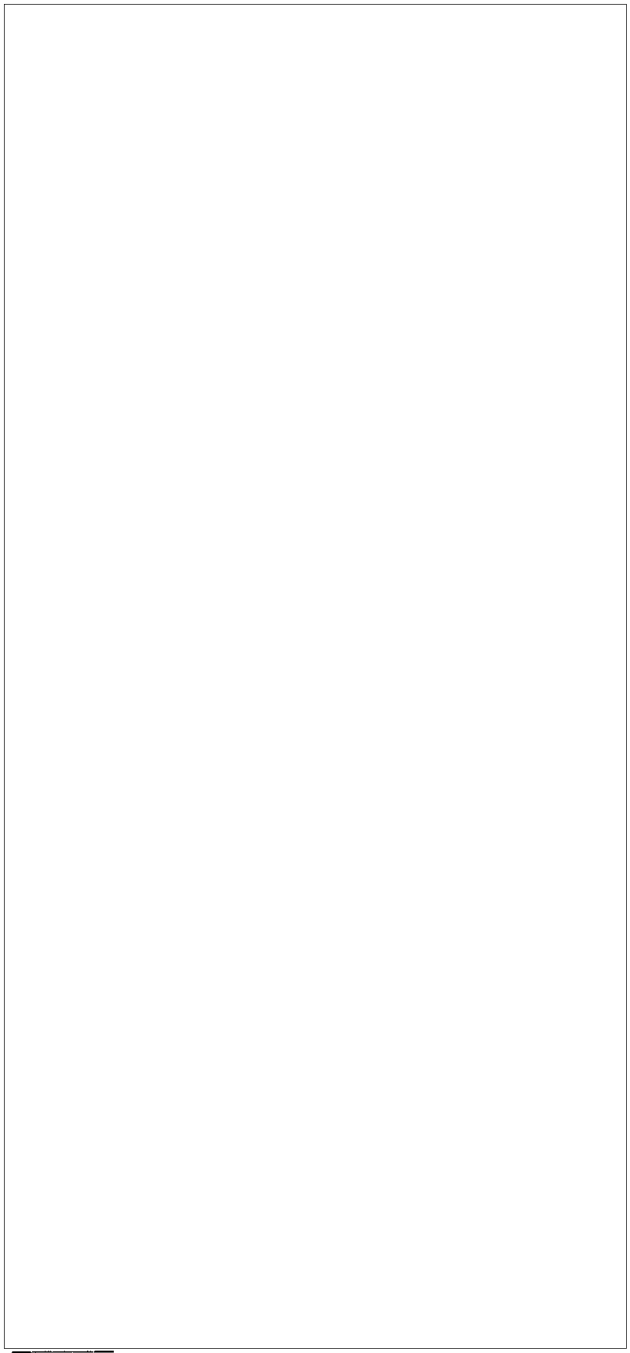

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*The JCR is composed of Argentina's Revolutionary People's Army (ERP), Bolivia's National Liberation Army (ELN), Chile's Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR), Paraguay's National Liberation Front (FREPALINA), and the remnants of Uruguay's National Liberation Movement (MLN/Tupamaros). Backed by the ERP's overflowing coffers, it has grown more active in recent months and has the potential for becoming an effective and dangerous organization.

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"The Following Commentary is a paid advertisement" "The Following Commentary is a paid advertisement" "The Following Commentary is a paid advertisement"

Bunge and Born Ltd. wishes to clarify that it has been forced to publish this announcement by the imposition of the Organization which holds in its power its executives Jorge and Juan Born. In no circumstances should its publication be deemed to imply agreement with its content.

In relation to the judgment made by the Organization against the company the following clarifications are in order:

1. In Aregntina for the last 30 years salaries have been established by collective wage bargaining committees with the respective national trade union.
2. The Company has always respected these agreements. It has been the permanent policy of the company to maintain income levels above those established in the collective agreements.
3. In the areas of its activities the Company pays the highest wages and offers the best working conditions in the country. The related confirmatory information can be obtained from the relative trade unions.
4. Leaving aside the definition of the term "multinational monopoly," no Argentine has the right to deprive another Argentine of his rights as a citizen.
5. The fact that a Company has activities in various countries by no means implies that its shareholders or its executives disown their own.
6. The Company is the most important one in the Argentine Republic and that which has effected the greatest investments. This casts doubt on the assertion that it has transferred its capital abroad.
7. On the contrary the Company is the only one in Argentina which exports technology and ingresses the corresponding royalties.
8. It has always been the consistent policy of the Company not to finance investments in one country with resources derived from another. On the other hand the Argentina Central Bank prohibits such transfers and the Company respects the law.
9. Peron was overthrown in 1955 by a military putsch in which the Company neither directly nor indriectly played any part.
10. The company resoultely opposes any attempt to impose ideas by methods of violence.
11. The Company's files contain correspondence with General Peron which bears ample witness to the high level of respect and esteem felt by the General towards the Company.

"In September, 1974 the Montoneros decided to submit the company Bunge y Born to a revolutionary trial. The antecedents relative to the Company's activities were studied from its point of origin up to the present day, both in the country and abroad, and it was decided to make Bunge y Born respond to the following charges:

1. Exploitation of the Working Class:
   For years this company has expanded thanks to the exploitation of its workers, by paying them low salaries and appealing to police repression when mobilizations took place demanding justice in the distribution of profit.
2. Monopolistic Practices
   In addition to exploiting its workers the company has used on numerous opportunities with differing devices strangling maneuvers to liquidate the small and medium sized national company.
3. Agression against National Interests
   In addition to the foregoing Bunge y Born has committed permanently attacks against specific national interests. Through the decapitalization which it generates by using the profits earned in the country for foreign expansion, Bunge y Born has ceased to be a national company to convert itself into a multinational monopoly thanks to exchange irregularities, thinking in the interests of the company and conspiring against the national interest. Additionally its participation backing the reactionary and pro-imperialist coup-d'etat that in 1955 overthrew the Peronists, linking itself permanently to the illegal governments that succeeded it, places the company in the position of enemy of the Argentine Republic in the political terrain. This fact was clearly demonstrated when the Peronists government came to power on March 11, 1973 by its practice of creating supply shortages to provoke chaos and facilitate the detraction of the popular triumph.

With the object of carrying out the trial the Montoneros realized a military operation and proceeded to detain Jorge and Juan Born, both owners and directors of the company. Following extensive interrogation and an analysis of the magnitude of the responsibility of the company in the charges formulated the Montoneros imposed on Bunge y Born the following penalties:

a) One year's prison for Jorge and Juan Born, later commuted to 9 months when the company fulfilled the remainder of the obligations.
b) Payment of a very large sum in dollars as bail for the freeing of Jorge and Juan Born, and fine for the crime of exchange irregularities, this sum being handed over to the Montoneros as the representatives of the national interest and to whose uses it will be applied.
c) The delivery in townships, factories, schools and hospitals of merchandise to a value of 1,000,000 dollars as punishment for the supply shortages the company inflicted on the people.
d) Immediate solution of the union conflicts produced during the period of imprisonment of both directors, accepting the demands of the workers.
e) As retribution for the affront to the Argentine people that its participation in the 1955 coup d'etat represented, the placing in all its factories in the country of a bust of both General Peron and Eva Peron, granting the workers authorization to suspend activities and effect acts of homage when these are unveiled . . .
f) The placing of the present announcement on the notice boards of these factories, exhibiting it for a period of 15 days.

This operation of the Montoneros constitutes one of the most transcendental political events of the country and is effected in the context of a situation really dramatic for the Argentine People.

30 YEARS OF ANTI IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE

During the last 30 years our people have been waging a heroic struggle against imperialism and its local allies. The national interests against those of imperialism; the forces which fight for liberty combating those that favor dependence. Imperialism or the Nation, Dependence or Liberation—these define the principal terms of the confrontation. One of the most important elements in this long fight is the emergence of the Peronista movement as the political identity of the Working Class and small urban and rural producers, and as the organizational framework inside which the people engages in its global battle against the monopolistic interests.

The struggle against the pro-imperialist coup d'etat which in 1955 overthrew Peron, the popular resistance which the people carried out for 18 years against the successive variants with which the system tried to frustrate the popular will, the resonant popular triumph that on 11th March 1973 terminated the Military Dictatorship of General Lanusse —these had as their central protagonist and the unifying axis of all sectors of the nation the Peronista Movement led from exile by General Peron.

Sons of these 18 years of resistance, matured by multiple popular struggles, as the expression of the highest levels of confrontation and as a synthesis of this long experience, there evolved the armed organizations of Peronism which then converged into the present politico-military organization of the Montoneros.

All methods were tried by Imperialism to destroy the Peronista Movement as the Movement for National Liberation: persecution, gaol, torture, shootings, exile—these clashed magainst a movement which maintained its unity around General Peron and which was intransigent in defense of the popular interests.

With its attempts at destruction a failure, imperalism fell back on the ploy of joining the regime, trying to convert it into a liberal structure that co-exists inside the system, emplying it of its content of the masses, depriving it of its revolutionary essence and destroying it as the Movement of National Liberation. It prepared and promoted a double strategy: through bribery, infiltration, ideological penetration, the incorporation into the very economic structure of monopolies—through these, imperialism began to spawn a layer of business, union and political leaders who abandoned the defense of the interests of the Peronista people to convert themselves into the instrument of the imperialist strategy for the destruction of the Peronista Movement as the Movement for National Liberation; traitors to the fatherland and the movement, the supporters of the monopolistic interests, these sectors chose in the confrontation the battle camp of Dependence. Simultaneously they savagely repressed all those leaders, militants and agrupations which continue loyal to the interest of the working class and the people, and which, faithful to the Fatherland and the movement, never abandoned the war for Liberation. There is invented on "institutional" Peronism, empty of the masses and full of traitors who accept docilely the rules of play of the system at the same time that they attempt to annihilate the Authentic Peronism.

THE TREASON AGAINST THE POPULAR TRIUMPH OF 11th MARCH 1973

Following the popular triumph of 11th March 1973 the imperialist strategy maintained these principles and, far from confronting globally the Peronista government, proposed as its objective detracting from that triumph deposing from the government structures the authentic Peronists and filling them little by little with the traitors.

With General Peron dead, this strategy entered into its final phase, and in a few months one of the greatest of popular triumphs became transformed into one of the most dictatorial, repressive and pro-imperialist governments that the Argentine people has had to endure.

From the 11th of March 1973 nothing remains, neither Peron as head of the Movement, nor Campora as President; neither the provincial governors, nor the Ministers nor even the program voted for by people. A small group lusting for power, pivots of the imperialist strategy, has been accumulating in their hands the control of the institutional apparatus of the Peronista Movement and the Government. From there they defend the interests of the monopolies vaunting the shirt of Peronism. They consist of the President Isabel Martinez, Minister Lopez Rega, Raul Lastiri, President of the Chamber of Deputies, with all their unconditional followers.

Economically the country is bankrupt, virtually in crisis. The inflation has reached a rate of 10% per month and already the people have lost the capacity for shock; the real wage of the workers, continually deteriorating, makes it necessary to perform acrobatics to survive; investment is zero, there is no offtake of the labor force, and unemployment aggravates the decline in salaries; the external debt has climbed from 6.500 million dollars in 1974 to 9.300 million today; the balance of payments is in deficit, the hard currency reserves fall alarmingly daily; the devaluation of the Argentine currency is really outstanding—in six months the black market dollar has tripled in value; small and medium-sized industry is being liquidated. The world crisis of capitalism is thrown onto the shoulders of the dependent countries; so that the multi-national monopolies may save themselves from the disaster the Argentine people will, together with the other dependent countries, suffer the consequences.

The complement of this economic policy is a repression that has no paralleis in the recent history of the country. With the objective of simulating a popular government, which governs nourishing itself on the majority and with the consent of the minority, it is necessary to abort every kind of opposition be it justified or not. The most advanced repressive legislation has been imposed, making possible the joint action of the forces of repression headed by the armed forces. Completing this institutionalized repressive machinery there has been mounted from the very government the parapolice organization, A.A.A., which has commited hundreds of savage assassinations with total impunity. Integrated by police, military and mercenaries, it imposes the politics of terror, blasting with bullets, dynamiting and setting on fire the popular militants, journalists, political leaders, priests, etc. At the head of this repressive machinery the Minister of Social Welfare Jose Lopez Rega pretends in his madness for power to emulate Hitler of Nazi Germany. Similar in his methodology, Lopez Rega aspires to the control of all the apparatus of repression to invest himself with power and will never rest till he achieves his objectives.

Apart from repressing those who confront the government, there is necessary the silence of the press. To that legislation which chokes the freedom of expression to the closure of newspapers and magazines, there are added threats, persecution and the assassination of those journalists who dare to make any criticism or simply gather the truth and publish it. To the censure imposed by law there is added the autocensure which terror imposes upon the media.

In the face of all this the majority of the liberal political leaders—where Dr. Ricardo Balbin stands out—play at "constructive opposition based on dialogue and respect for the institutions". Masters of all the skills to make the popular struggles their own without ever representing their interest, these gentlemen prefer to fall silent or speak ambiguously rather than provoke a confrontation they cannot control. They defend the same interests as the government, they differ in that they are liberals: they disagree with the way in which the present policies—with which essentially they agree—are implemented only because they are left to the side in the execution. Enemies of the process of National Liberation, they are allies of the imperialist strategy of annihilating the Authentic Peronism to frustrate the organization of the Working Class and the People to castrate the revolutionary process.

ONLY THE PEOPLE WILL SAVE THE PEOPLE

To overcome this critical situation into which the country has been dragged we cannot count on any nationalist coup d'etat or anything similar; the Armed Forces will never defend the popular interests and at every moment they prove this. Nor can we hope that the most distinguished liberal political leaders abandon their posture of many years of emulating the regime, helping to leave the people isolated from the decisions. The most heroic defenders of the "democratic institutions"—always provided these serve to continue in a state of dependence—they have no hesitation in supporting constantly more this totalitarian government.

Today more than ever before there is fulfilled the pronouncement of General Peron: "Only the People can save the People".

The Montoneros have accepted the historic challenge. To continue the process of National and Social Liberation has a concrete meaning, one path only to follow. It implies deepening a process which can only be consistent to the extent it is hegomenised by the Working Class. Which will be possible when we construct a Popular Power which liquidates the political, military and economic power of the imperialism which will be definitize when we destroy the dependence on capitalism and constr[illegible] socialism.

We assume the responsibility of the moment and we commit all our [illegible]ces to:

1. Reconstruct the Peronist Movement as the authentic expression of the interests of the Working Class and the People avoiding that these are destroyed by treason. The Authentic Peronism will arise from this crisis strengthened by its experience of struggle, converted into the Movement of National Liberation by means of which the People will wage its definitive war against imperialism.
2. To promote the construction of the National Liberation Front which, led by the Peronist Movement, joins together in the fight for National Liberation small and medium sized businessmen and all those sectors which are in contradiction with imperialism.
3. To continue without truce the resistance to the present government, laying bare its anti-popular, repressive and pro-imperialist essence, attacking without respite the forces that sustain it until we achieve its annihilation.

PERON OR DEATH

LONG LIVE THE FATHERLAND

UNTIL VICTORY MY GENERAL

MONTONEROS"

BUNGE Y BORN S.A., 361 25 De Mayo, Buenos Aires, Argentina

Figure 3. The notice inserted in the *Washington Post* by Bunge and Born Ltd. as a condition for the release of Jorge and Juan Born

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